/78 cont./

412 kneeling woman exerts on them is accompanied by gentle rocking, which facilitates the grinding.

372 /79/ The Uro have no combustible material other than dried
[232] animal excrement and tola branches, which they go far to seek.
[224] These things are precious, and the Uro, like the Cipaya and the Aymara, are sparing in their use.

231 Near the huts a type of earth niche is sometimes erected which is rather similar to the huts around the village of Chipaya; these are pigstys.

226 Fishing. The Uro, in our age as in pre-Colombian times,
[282] draw their main subsistence from the lake. They are excellent
[439] fishers. The fish they catch is partly consumed by themselves and partly sold to the Aymara and to the half-breeds of the capital. I did not have the opportunity to be present on a real fishing expedition, only at several demonstrations made at my request. They first taught me the way in which they use the landing net shown in Fig. 23, 1 /see p. 9/. The wooden frame which holds the stretched-out net is fastened to the end of a pole. The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or seated on his balsa until he sees an interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net delicately, then pulls it out of the water with a sudden motion.

227 There is another type of landing net which is much larger. It is composed of a circle from which wooden sticks joined at one end go out. This skeleton, conical in form, is covered with a net. Another net, as large as a hand, is stretched across the opening to make the escape of the fish even more difficult. This apparatus is often of considerable dimensions; some are more than three meters in diameter. They are always equipped with a handle by which they are held in the water and lifted up as soon as the fish have ventured in (Pl. III, B /see p. 23/).

The Uro Indians also possess bottom nets which I regret not having seen employed. I have, however, acquired a perforated stone (Fig. 24, 2 /see p. 10/) which corresponds to our weights or ballast.

/119 cont./

No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Čipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the Caranga: deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Čipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacha hiding it from sight.

The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

[illegible]--88 E-5 (1930-1931) 1933.1936 M'24 Urs M'26
- Caranga -
Chipaya

/363 cont./

who came with two soups, one of quinua and the other of Fuño and quinua kaiwa. They were distributed in small individual bowls which, as soon as they were filled by the officers of the alferez' wife and several other women, were carried to the guests by a group of little boys. Inside the hut the alferez was standing behind a table on which the heads of the sacrificed animals and the chicken which had been used the day before were placed. As usual, the alferez' wife was in her place, to the left of her husband. The most important guests were seated inside the hut.

[354] The meal did not last long. When the last guests were on the point of leaving, the flag was rolled up and carried away by an individual, undoubtedly the person who the day before had been proclaimed katokere, i.e., alferez of the next festival.

/364/ Several hours later a large group formed again in the alferez' hut, this time occupied in drinking according to the usual ritual. Two old men uttered prayers to the mal'ku without pause, even while drinking. At a given moment they knelt in the middle of the hut, their bodies turned toward the east, and, in this position, addressed a long invocation to them, which they concluded by kissing the ground.

Kant-mal'ku, Kantl'er-mal'ku, Kilimint-mal'ku, Kantl'aviri,
Kant-demon, Kantl'er-demon, Kilimint-demon, Kantl'aviri,

mirka-kol'o, Kemperan mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku(1),
country mountains Kemperan demon, Stephen-demon,

1. During the feast of the Estewan-mal'ku, the alferez threw beans, peas, and dried fruit to the wind.

/373 cont./

The prayer which resumed most often on the Officiant's lips clearly indicated that the Enewan-maĺ'ku alone was to receive the honors apparently being paid to his colleague:

Enewan-maĺ'ku	hanibi	am	bungin	tamaĺo
Stephen demon	in this moment	then	to accomplish	I have

ni	pak aĺ'anan	pak aĺ'a	rag-laiku	
come	three heads of livestock	heads of livestock	three for	

kanit	eqeqa	ĺ'bit-'laiku	hanibi	
married-spouses	health for		in this moment	

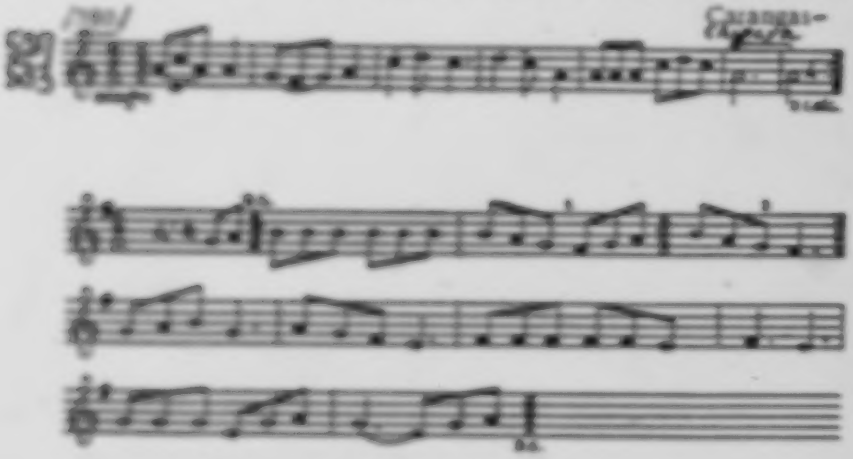
kumpisaja /374/	hanibi	t'aqa	kumpoli:	
I have accomplished	in this moment	all	assembly	

nau-tuli	kumpisaja	am-ni	maĺ'ku.
today	I accomplish	thou	demon.

"Stephen-demon, I have come to acquit myself toward thee (by offering thee) these animals on behalf of our three kinds of flocks and on behalf of married people. At this moment I have fulfilled my duty. at this moment, today, with the entire assembly I acquit myself toward thee, demon."

Aside from these insignificant details all the accessories of the festival of the ramuri figured in this one but with more abundance. The sheaves of straw were more numerous and more ornate than before, and had some parina (flamingo) eggs placed at their base.

I observed only one new rite: the prayer that the silivas and his wife made successively to the four cardinal points. At the moment when they got up to proceed to this duty, the flutists began to play a melody backed by drumbeats. When they returned to the village in the evening, the silivas and silivaga both had a tuft of straw on the back.



Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samuri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling, which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

.394 cont./
121 directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties
124 and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to
[159] surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Čipaya. They offer a deaf resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and obstinacy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

521 Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco.
[513] As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in
[312] their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of taquia (dried
[235] excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the festivals they drink, pray, and chew their coca, but never succumb to the joys of conversation.

124 When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I re-
814 ceived the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Čipaya to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him collided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

115 The few tales which I was able to note down were practically
[692] all dictated to me by the corregidor of Chipaya, a young man about
[902] 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Oruro to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, comical manners, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of
[124] himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about
703 men or animals to me. As will be realized these tales are very disjointed and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are ancient Andean myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

/158 cont./

252 reproduced here (Fig. 2, C /see p. 150/). These stoves are well
352 contained; they are always to the right of the entry against the wall.
252 They are provided with holes for the pots and with a compartment
352 where the stores of taquia, i.e., of dried excrement, are kept. As
372 this substance is the chief fuel on the altiplano and has been through-
237 out time, the use of these stoves, an equivalent of which exists in no other region of South America, is self-explanatory. This dried excrement burns with difficulty on an open fire, and like wood (Yup) it is too rare to allow the least heat which emanates from it to
252 be lost. It is hence because of the material and from considerations
352 of economy that the Indians of the altiplano arrived at the idea of
175 constructing these stoves, which are certainly very old since Cobo (1)

[113]

1. Cobo (Bernabé), Historia del nuevo mundo /History of the New World/, for... of the Society of Jesus, published for the first time with notes and other illuatrations by D. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada. Seville, 1893. "In all the houses, however small they may be, there is its cook stove behind the door, which is made of a small clay stove no higher than a handbreadth, closed on all sides, with a small mouth through which they feed the fire, and in the upper part, two or three round holes, where they set the pots. With this they use very little fuel, because they never put in more than two small sticks by the ends, and as they are being burned they are fed in, so that there is more fuel used in one of our cook stoves than in 20 stoves of the Indians."

/172 cont./

291 To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European [531] peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric identical to the mantles; like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

302 The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (kuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each 301 other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pāz-kits, kxola), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass [191] beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

302 The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity [42] [324] [339] of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kˣara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in rotten urine.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

Carangas – Chipaya

/173/

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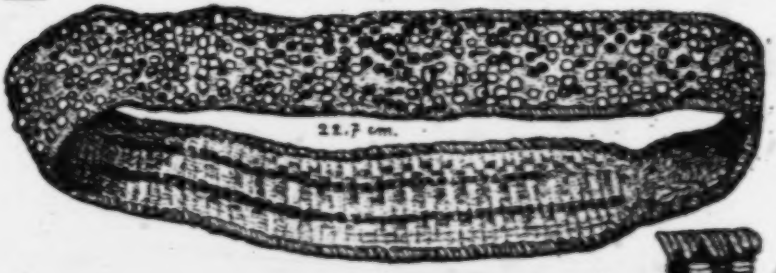

A

B

C

D

G

E

F

/See captions on next page./

/173 cont./

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137

Fig. 5. — Čipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Diadem spangled with glass beads.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool (almil'a).
C: Cap of knitted wool (čul'u).
D: Pin (pāz-kits) which the Čipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush (kˣara or čaxraña) of roots.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic (ira).

2:Métraux--171 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas—
Chipaya

/180 cont./

Musical Instruments

[534 [14] The musical instruments that I got among the Čipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant at the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as

[113]

> 1. Izikowitz (K.G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Čipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

he will find only a brief summary of it here.

Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which [191] does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common on the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8, A /see p. 173/). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards brought together with tenons, are about 20 centimeters long and six [239] to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rags.

[126] I was able to acquire a round drum in Čipaya (Fig. 8, E). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

/180 cont./

[534] [616] The saya taxata (west) owns a very old, very large drum, the only one of its kind in the village; unfortunately, the Indians did not want to sell it to me at any price, alleging that it was the property of the whole community. Its construction was, from what I could see, similar to that of the round tambourine which I have just described. A very special importance devolved on this drum during the festival /181/ /Figure 8 appears here/ /182/ of the Comadres. [198] During the whole day it remained hanging from a flagstaff and was the object, at the same time as the standard, of real worship.

The drum bears in Čipaya the Spanish name caja. We should not conclude from this that the instrument is of Spanish origin among them. Some details at the most are of post-Columbian origin, but they are not numerous. The "drum cord," for example, is certainly an element added to it in the course of the centuries which followed [194] the conquest. It is possible that for lack of flexible wood to make round drums, the Čipaya were obliged to make them with boards from old boxes and consequently to modify the original type.

Wind instruments.

[237] Trumpets. Čipaya trumpets are of the most rudimentary kind: they are made up of a cow's horn sawed off near the point and of a bell formed of the dried tail of the same quadruped.

Only very rarely did I see the Čipaya make use of this instrument, which makes a hollow sound resembling the lowing of one in [196] the state of having breath of exceptional power. The trumpets which figure in all the festivals play the role of ritual or decorative accessories in them. They are placed in front of the sacred sheaves or on the table in front of the heads of the sacrificed animals. They bear the name tʰoti in Čipaya.

Clarinets (Fig. 8, F /see p. 173/), which like trumpets have a cow horn for a bell, also have a reed mouthpiece from which a small tongue has been cut out and smoothed to make it more flexible. So that it would be easier to play on, it has been raised by means of a string passing under its lower part. It is made to vibrate by

[Text continues on p. 174]

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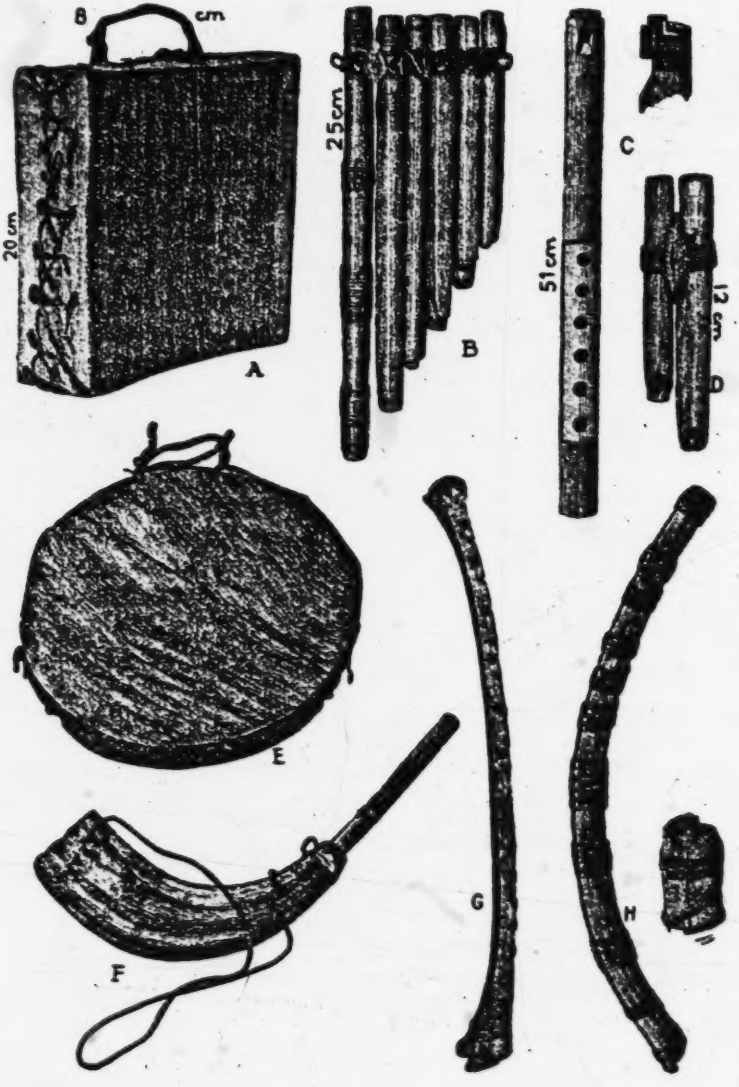
Chipaya

/181/

534



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/See captions on next page./

/181 cont./

534 Fig. 8.—Cipaya material culture. Musical instruments.

A: Square drum.
B: Syrinx.
C: Pinkul'u, flute with mouthpiece of the Indians of the altiplano and section of the mouthpiece.
D: Syrinx with two pipes.
E: Circular drum.
F: Clarinet (t^{h}oti).
[239] G: Flute with mouthpiece made from the wing bone of a condor.
H: Bent flute with mouthpiece.

/185 cont./

534 In La Musique des Incas /The Music of the Incas/,
[113] R. d'Harcourt reproduces several similar flutes as well as straight flutes with mouthpieces of an identical construction. He was, unfortunately, unable to give anything more specific than "Bolivia" for the provenance of these instruments.

While examining the contents of one of the huts that the
● [237] Čipaya use for storage, I had the good fortune to discover a flute with mouthpiece made from a wing bone of a condor (Fig. 8, G /see p. 173/). The block inserted in the opening is, as for the preceding flutes, made of wood, and it also has six holes.

If the mellow flutes with which we have been occupied up to here are locally produced, this is not the case with the pinkul'u, another type of flute with mouthpiece which is of a more complicated construction although based on the same principle. The six holes are contrived on a slightly depressed surface which facilitates the play of the fingers. Figure 8, C presents one of these pinkul'u, which I acquired on the frontier of Bolivia and Argentina. The
[171] [839] Čipaya pinkul'u are identical and without doubt come from some Bolivian village. They abound in all the Aymara and Quichua markets.

The tola flutes with mouthpieces are often provided with a small rounded whistle near the mouth. Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to acquire a specimen of one, the owners of these perfected instruments always refusing to sell them to me.

[192] The flutes with mouthpieces receive the name, in the Uro-Čipaya dialect, täks, a generic designation for "flutes." These instruments are basically used for /186/ secular purposes and have no other end than to enliven festive days.

533 While there are very few Čipaya who know how to play the
535 quena, almost all the men have a flute with mouthpiece and take part in the concert which is organized on festive occasions. The dancers accompany themselves on this instrument even while executing intricate figures. During a religious ceremony the Indians may also play a little melody from time to time while seated.

/187 cont./ With the exception of the
534 bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very
[191] like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

[177] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Čipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be
[126] examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal
[301 337] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

/196/

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*171
291 The chuco, or helmet, of the Aymara and Čipaya is in my opinion of post-Columbian origin. From the heads of a good number of mummies in the chullpares in the neighborhood of Iscara and Huachacalla I have recovered string caps, the technique of which has no connection with the knitting stitches of modern caps but many analogies with that of spiral basket-work (coiled basketry /ref. in
U English/). The authors who make allusion to the Aymara caps of
*171 the sixteenth and seventeenth century never speak of the flaps that
A protect the ears, which is an argument more in favor of a recent
291 date for this type of headgear. Here are the oldest descriptions which we have of the Aymara cap: "They wore on the head what they called in their tongue chucos, a kind of very tall sombrero without a brim, and in order that they could hold the head, they compressed and attenuated it /the head/ as high as they could, in memory, so that they had heads having the tall form of the volcano whence they departed" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 40). /Cited in Spanish./ "...the headdress, which till now has been chucos shaped like the crowns of sombreros without a brim, and for some years in this region all have relinquished them and wear sombreros" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 69). /Cited in Spanish./ (1)

A
[113]

1. On the Aymara cap, cf. Montell, Dress and ornaments, pp. 204-205.

U
294
237 The Uro Indians of Ancoaqui up to recent years spun the feathers of water birds from which they then created caps (2). One

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*[191]
[113]

2. Forbes, On the Aymara Indians, p. 262: "Around the lake of Titicaca I have seen socks and gloves for children made of the down of the waterfowl, which had apparently

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Anciently, it is said, the *Uru* went entirely nude, which is quite incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian *Chipaya* uncu—a sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a simple bar loom staked in the ground. Recently, most *Uru* males have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the heel, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are sometimes worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a crude, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn, and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Caps woven of bird feathers were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-headed copper pin (tupu). When traveling in cold weather, the women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied behind the back with vicuña-wool filets; only a few still wear the ancient style "Titicaca braids"—countless small braidlets all over the head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. *Uru* men wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around tropical bang.

BOATS

The *Uru* are famous balsa builders (pl. 115, *bottom*). Their craft, though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow swampways. The reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are stacked in shocks like corn. Nearly every able-bodied *Uru* male has quantities of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas. During spare moments in their houses, they are continually braiding ichu grass into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in the middle of the boat and to have upturned points at each end. An acute-angled wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to tighten the binding. To keep out small waves, gunwales consisting of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

edge of the pontoons. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the pontoons and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 16 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

MANUFACTURES

Uru material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus tatora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for fishweirs, roof mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, balsas, sails, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The *Uru* make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the end bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but *Uru* women are very skillful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (gorros), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with varicolored diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The *Uru* also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for lashing loads on burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the *Uru* buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A straw-cord bola perdida, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The *Uru* know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Ancoaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkillu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-choklo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga.

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve its functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into aylus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anansaya), and xanacha (*Inca* manansaya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

8:Pain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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Iru Itu

rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleeping-bags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *puna*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* [9]). This latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had retired for the night at sundown, we decided to retire to our respective quarters.

9) Yareta, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[p. 310-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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whereas the *bolas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *čats* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *gorros*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[38]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskola* [cf. the term for penis, *siai-* ("eggs") *skolo*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *čulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Ogilvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*kupoša*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *bolas*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *bolas*-making book (*koxlu* or *'kaxi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[38] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.